

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA**

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in his
official capacity as Chair of the House Standing
Committee on Redistricting, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF
THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the
President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina
Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

Supplemental Expert Report of Dr. Kassra A.R. Oskooii

October 31, 2025

I. Executive Summary

1. I am a tenured Associate Professor in the department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Delaware. I submitted an expert report in this case on August 1, 2024 which sets forth my qualifications and compensation. I also submitted a reply report in this case on October 17, 2024, a supplemental report on November 3, 2024, a second supplemental report on March 17, 2025, and a supplemental rebuttal report on March 31, 2025. I testified at trial in Winston-Salem in June of 2025, and I understand my reports and their accompanying exhibits were admitted into evidence as Plaintiffs' Exhibits NAACPPX189-94, 202-03, 208-11, and 215. My compensation is not in any way contingent on the content of my opinions or the outcome of this matter. My updated curriculum vitae is included in **Appendix B**.
2. I was asked to provide this Supplemental Report to analyze the changes to the 2023 Congressional Plan adopted by the North Carolina General Assembly on October 22, 2025, in Senate Bill 249, and specifically to provide a performance analysis on Congressional Legislative Districts (CLDs) 1 and 3 under their 2023 and 2025 configurations.¹
3. For this report, I was asked to apply the same methods of performance analysis used in my previous reports and the same electoral data, *see* NAACPPX189 at 14-16. I applied these electoral data sets to analyze the 2025 Congressional Districts, utilizing the block assignment file for Senate Bill 249 from the North Carolina General Assembly's website.²
4. The results of my performance analysis by election and district are appended to this Report in **Appendix A** (Tables A1-A6). Below I have included summary tables showing the performance over all 64 statewide exogenous general elections³ from 2016 through 2024 for Congressional Districts 1 and 3 under the 2023 and 2025 districts:

¹ A performance analysis reconstructs previous election results based on various district boundaries (e.g., 2023 Enacted vs. 2025 Enacted Districts), to determine which contests the preferred candidates of minority voters (e.g., Black voters) win or lose.

² I sourced the block assignment file for Senate Bill 249 from <https://www.ncleg.gov/Committees/CommitteeInfo/SenateStanding/154/Documents/19984>. I understand from counsel that this draft, "CCM-2," was adopted without amendment in the redistricting process.

³ I do not consider any endogenous contests for comparing electoral performance across plans and districts because the congressional district boundaries were redrawn. As a result, voters within the 2025 amended congressional districts did not all vote for the same congressional candidates in the 2024 general election.

Table 1: Summary of 2023 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3 Electoral Performance Results

Plan	Racial Composition of Districts		Success of Black-Preferred Candidates by Election Year				
2023 Enacted	2020 Census Voting Age Population (VAP)		2024 (15 Elections)	2022 (7 Elections)	2020 (20 Elections)	2018 (4 Elections)	2016 (18 Elections)
CLD	% NH White	% Black	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate
1	50.70%	40.42%	40%	0%	90%	100%	100%
3	65.28%	21.35%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%

Table 2: Summary of 2025 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3 Electoral Performance Results

Plan	Racial Composition of Districts		Success of Black-Preferred Candidates by Election Year				
2025 Enacted	2020 Census Voting Age Population (VAP)		2024 (15 Elections)	2022 (7 Elections)	2020 (20 Elections)	2018 (4 Elections)	2016 (18 Elections)
CLD	% NH White	% Black	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate
1	59.73%	32.34%	7%	0%	5%	50%	33%
3	56.17%	29.40%	7%	0%	0%	50%	17%

5. As I found in my March 2025 Supplemental Report, NAACPPX208 ¶ 70:

In CLD 1, the VAP is 50.70% White and 40.42% Black. The performance results show that Black-preferred candidates won 6 out of 15 exogenous contests (40%) in the 2024 election. This represents a decline compared to the 2020 and 2016 presidential election cycles, in which the Black-preferred candidates won 90% and 100% of the contests, respectively. It also represents a significantly lower win rate than that of Black-preferred candidates in Interim CLD 1, suggesting that Black voters will have comparatively less success in overcoming White bloc voting in 2023 Enacted CLD 1 than in 2022 Interim CLD 1. However, in the 2024 congressional race, Black-preferred candidate Don Davis narrowly defeated White-preferred candidate Laurie Buckhout (49.52% vs. 47.87%).

6. Based on performance results from a comprehensive series of election contests spanning 2016 through 2024, I conclude that it is highly unlikely for either of the 2025 Enacted districts—CLD 1 or CLD 3—to perform for Black-preferred candidates.⁴

⁴ Black-preferred candidates were originally identified in my prior reports through comprehensive racially polarized voting (RPV) analyses conducted across multiple jurisdictions in the state. As a secondary verification, I replicated these RPV analyses using the same methodological approach applied in my earlier work, *see* NAACPPX189 at 12-14, focusing on the most recent presidential (2024) and midterm (2022)

Between 2020 and 2024, Black-preferred candidates in both districts almost never prevailed, with win rates ranging from 0% to no higher than 7%. In 2018, Black-preferred candidates prevailed in 2 of 4 contests within the 2025 CLD 1 and 3 boundaries. However, both victories occurred in three-candidate races in which two White-preferred candidates split the vote, resulting in wins by plurality rather than majority. Looking further back to 2016, Black-preferred candidates lost most contests in both districts, with win rates of 33% in CLD 1 and 17% in CLD 3.

7. Comparing results for CLD 1 under the 2023 and 2025 district configurations reveals a clear decline in the electoral performance of Black-preferred candidates. Under 2023 CLD 1, Black-preferred candidates achieved a 40% win rate in the 2024 general election, whereas under 2025 CLD 1, that rate dropped sharply to just 7%. Both districts show a 0% win rate in the 2022 general election. In earlier election years, Black-preferred candidates performed substantially better under 2023 CLD 1, with win rates of 90% in 2020, 100% in 2018, and 100% in 2016, compared to markedly lower levels of success under the 2025 Enacted configuration—5% in 2020, 50% in 2018, and 33% in 2016.
8. Comparing results for CLD 3 under the 2023 and 2025 district configurations reveals that both district configurations are highly unlikely to perform for Black-preferred candidates.
9. The findings and conclusions in this Report are based upon information that has been made available to me or known by me to date. My work in this matter is ongoing and I reserve the right to modify, update, or supplement my analyses, findings, and any conclusions as additional information is made available to me or as I perform further analysis.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury of the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct according to the best of my knowledge, information and belief.



Kassra A.R. Oskooii
10/31/2025

election cycles and applying the 2025 Enacted CLD 1 and CLD 3 boundaries. As reported in **Appendix A** (Tables A7–A14), the results confirm that candidate preferences among Black and White voters remained consistent within the new 2025 districts. In short, this supplemental analysis found no divergence in candidate preferences between Black and White voters for 2025 CLDs 1 and 3.

Appendix A

**Figure A1: Electoral Performance Results for 2023 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3,
2024 General Election Contests**

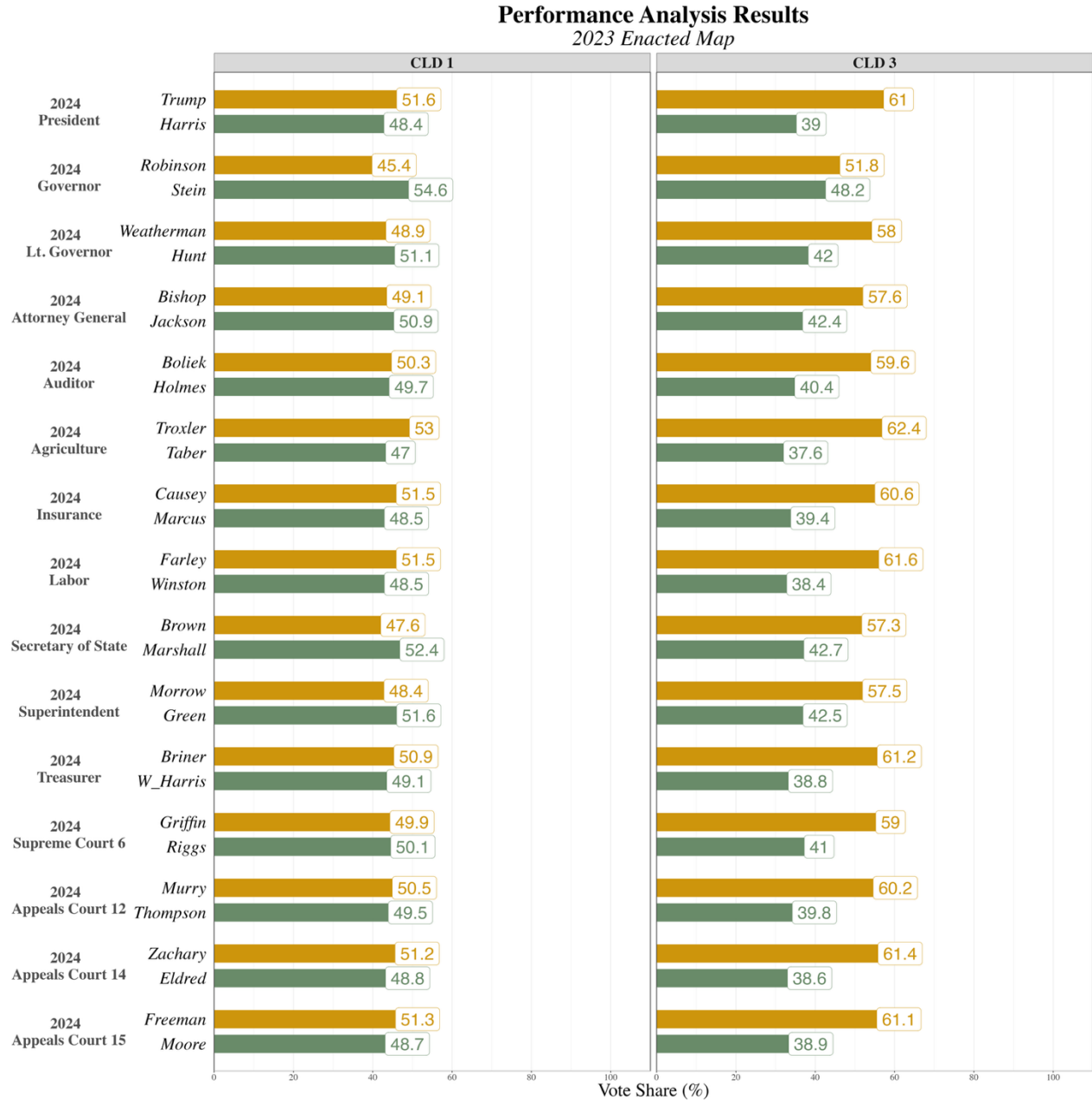
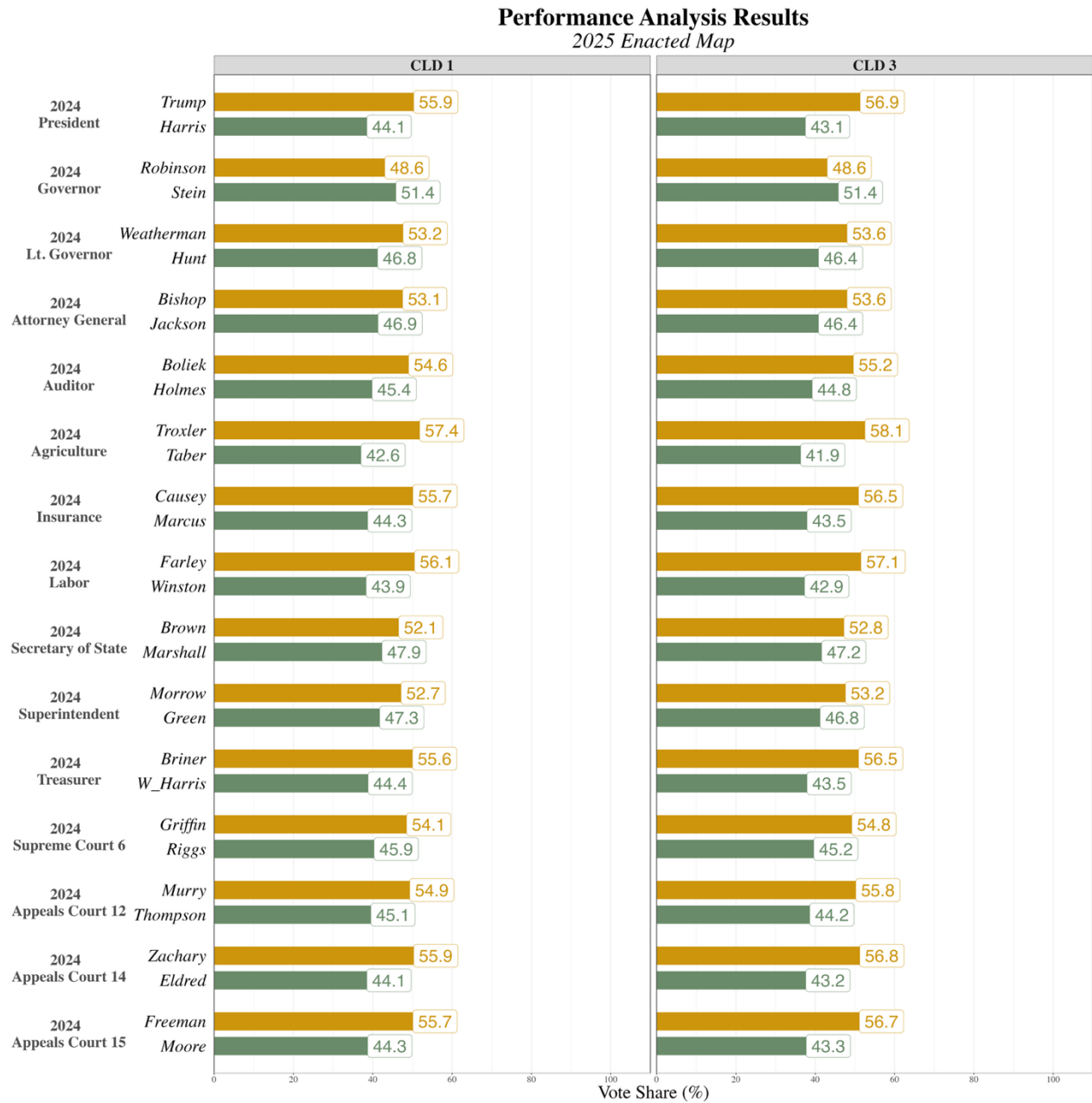
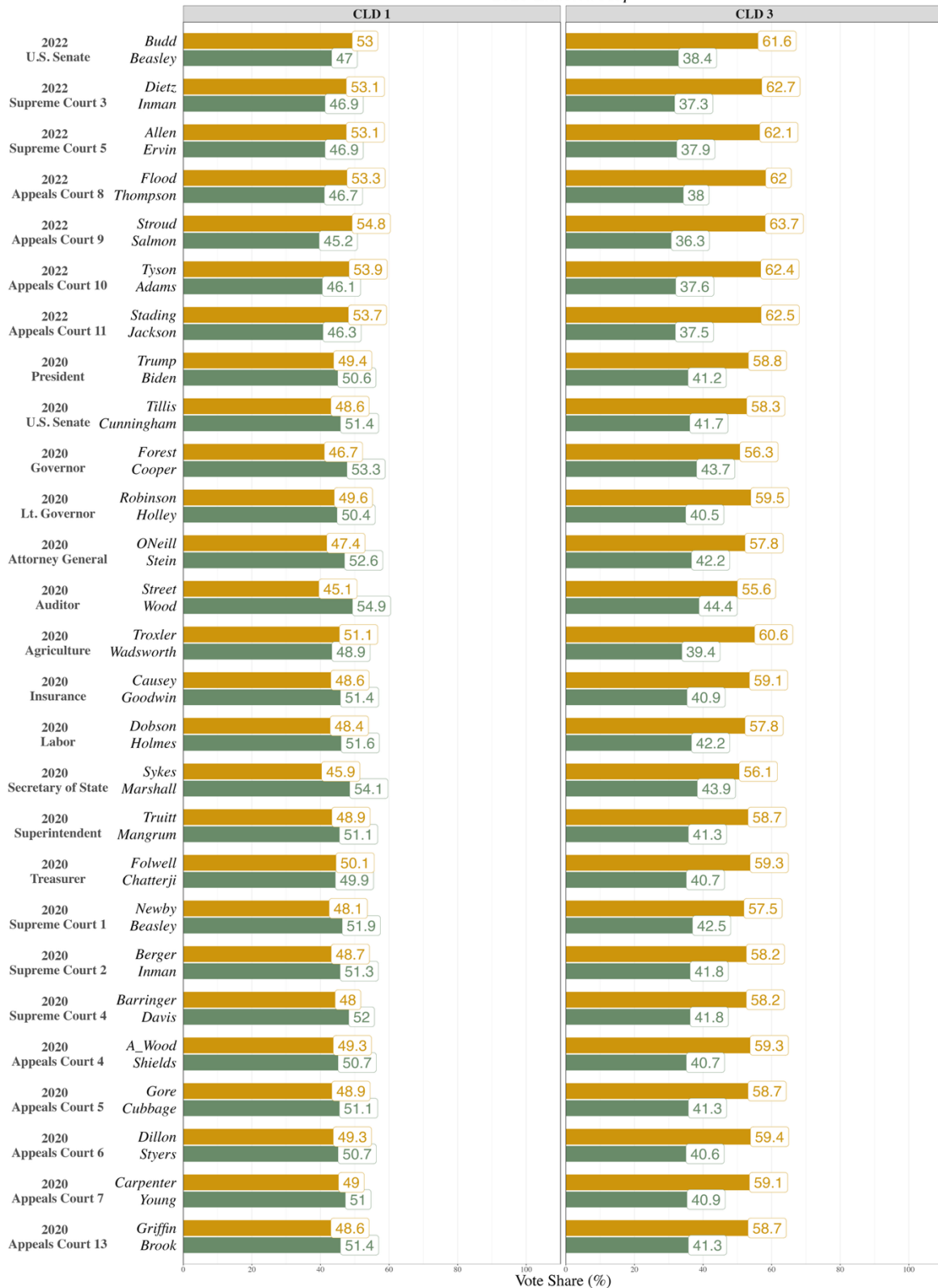


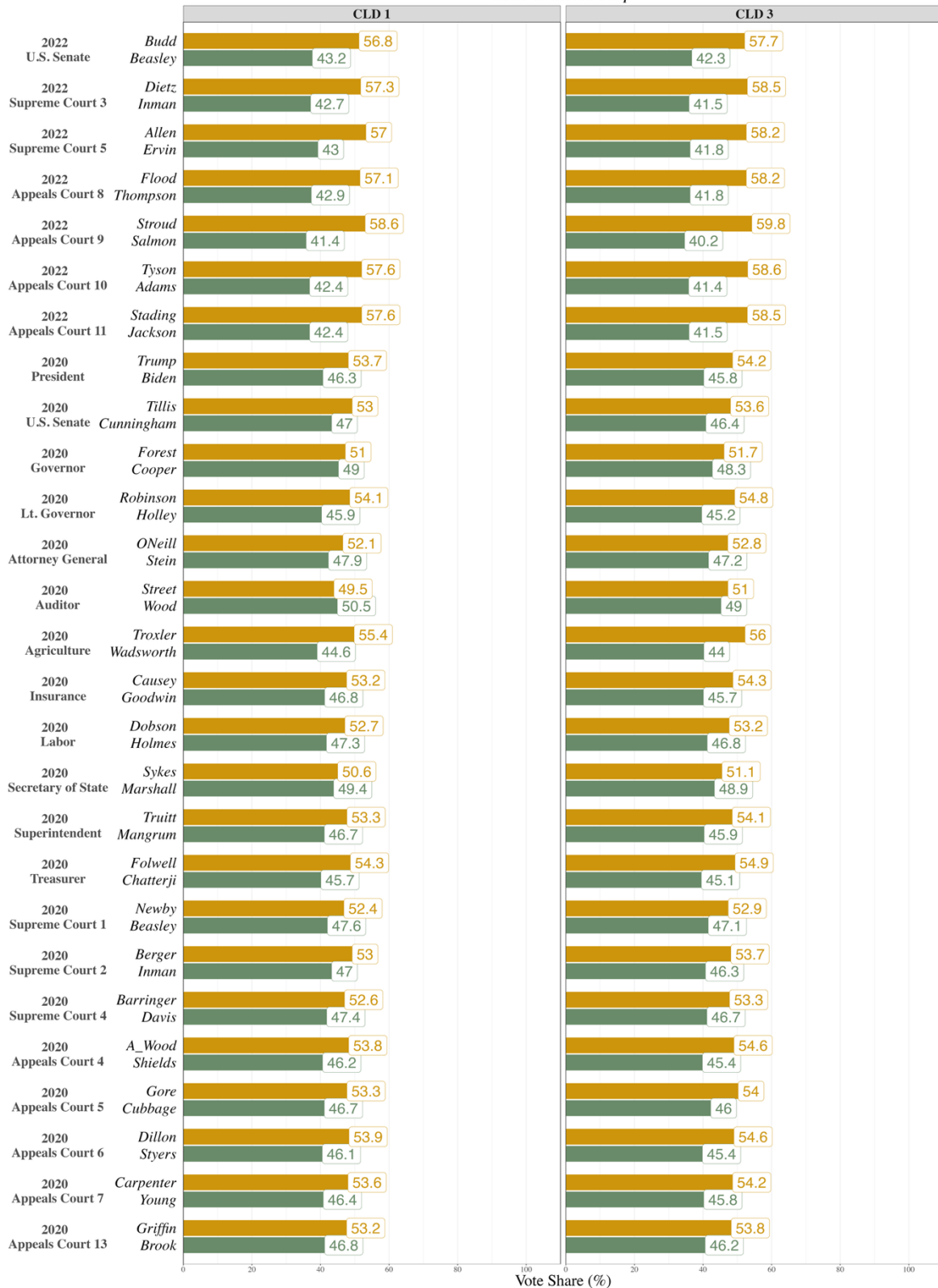
Figure A2: Electoral Performance Results for 2025 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3,
2024 General Election Contests



**Figure A3: Electoral Performance Results for 2023 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3,
2022 & 2022 General Election Contests**
Performance Analysis Results
2023 Enacted Map



**Figure A4: Electoral Performance Results for 2025 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3,
2022 & 2022 General Election Contests**
Performance Analysis Results
2025 Enacted Map



**Figure A5: Electoral Performance Results for 2023 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3,
2018 & 2016 General Election Contests**



**Figure A6: Electoral Performance Results for 2025 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3,
2018 & 2016 General Election Contests**

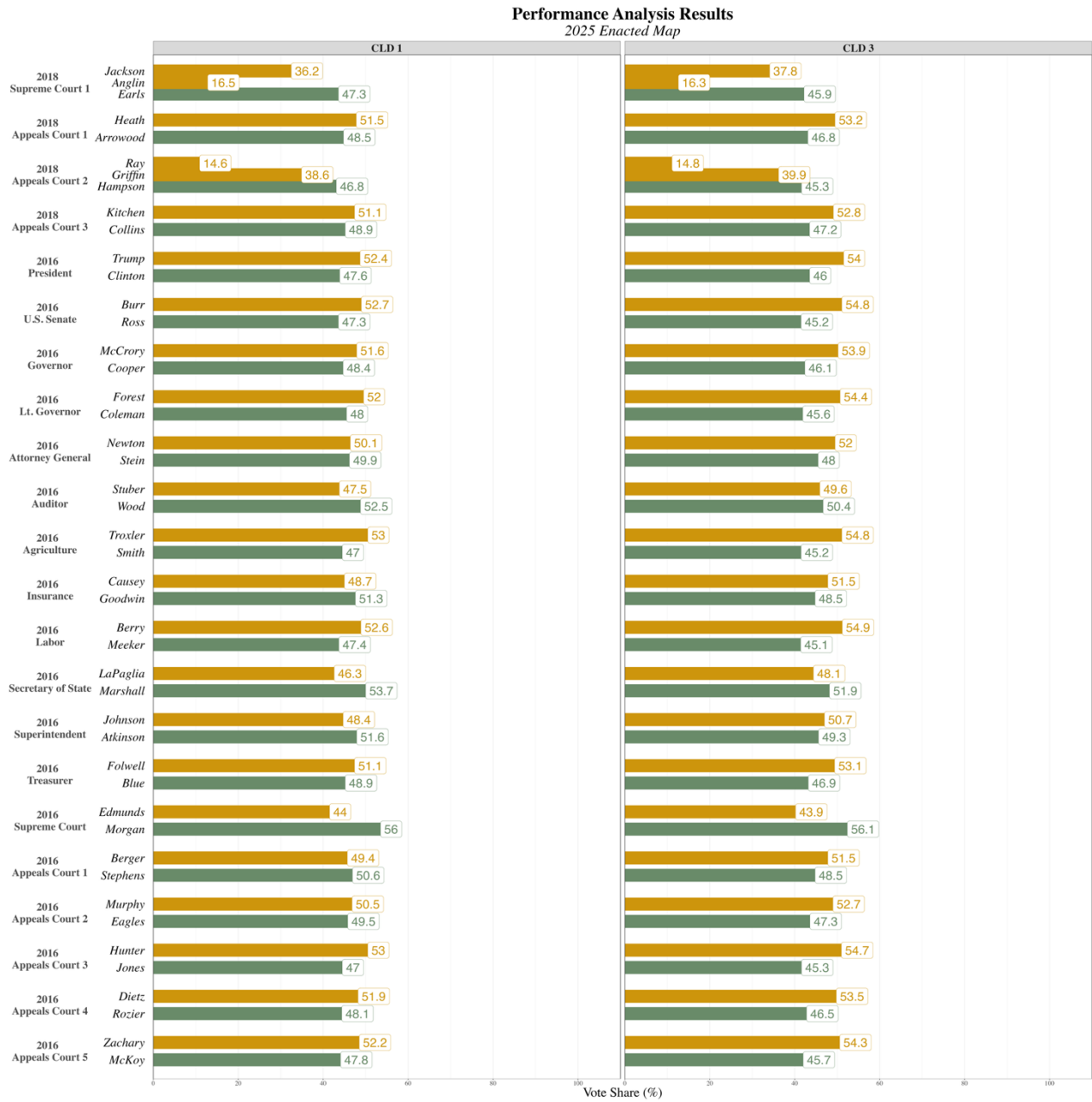


Figure A7: EI Iterative 2024 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 1

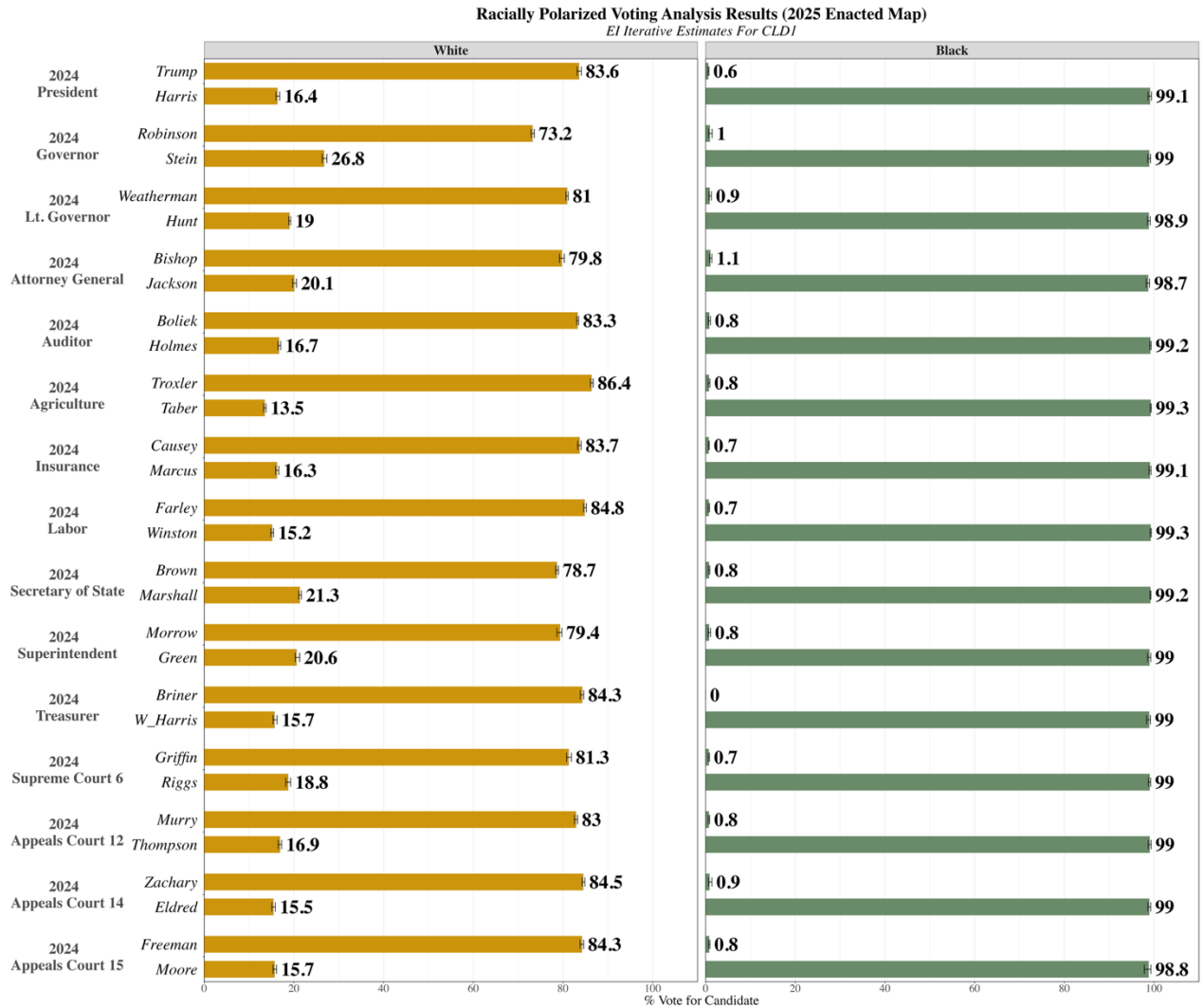


Figure A8: EI RxC 2024 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 1

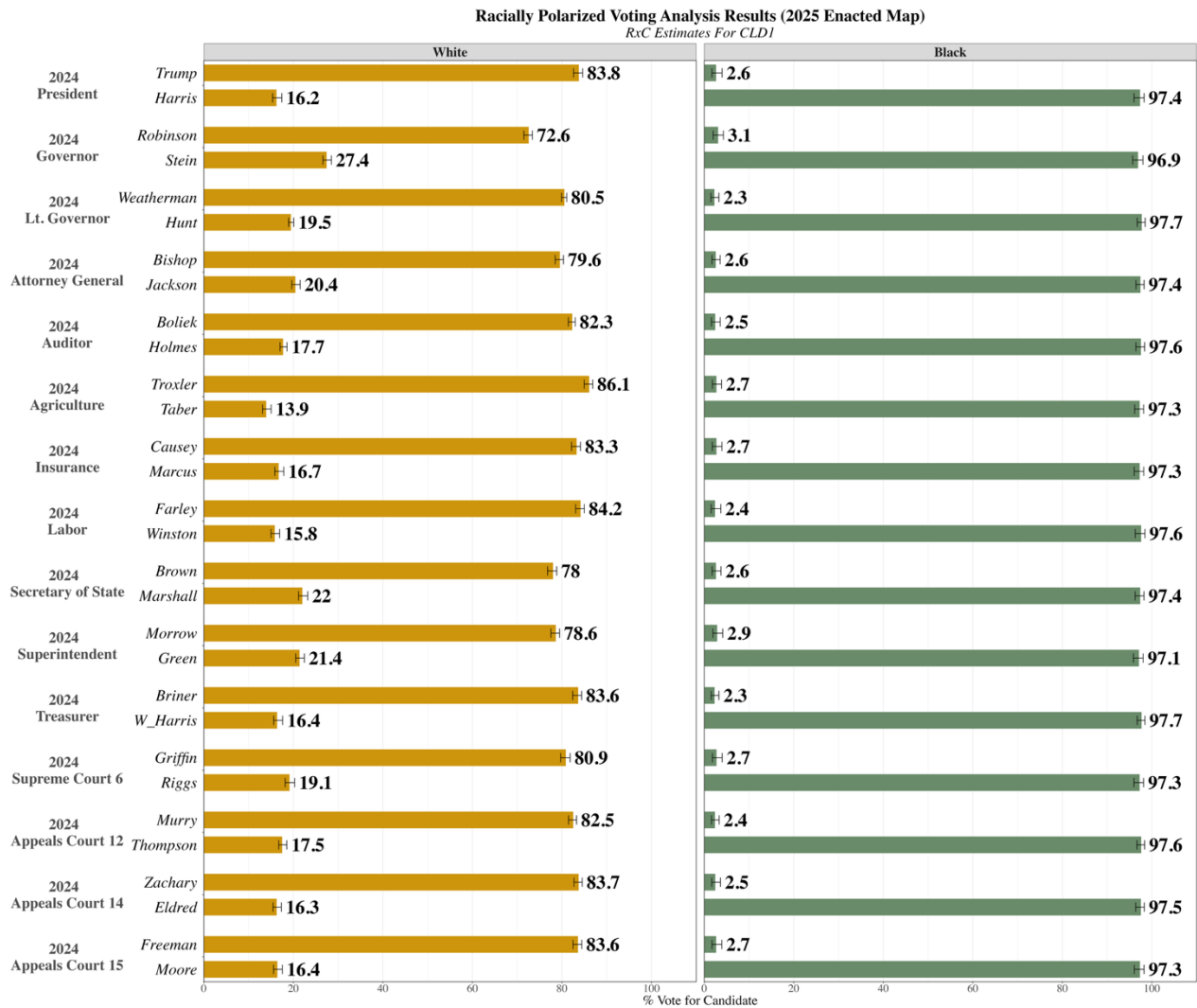


Figure A9: EI Iterative 2024 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 3

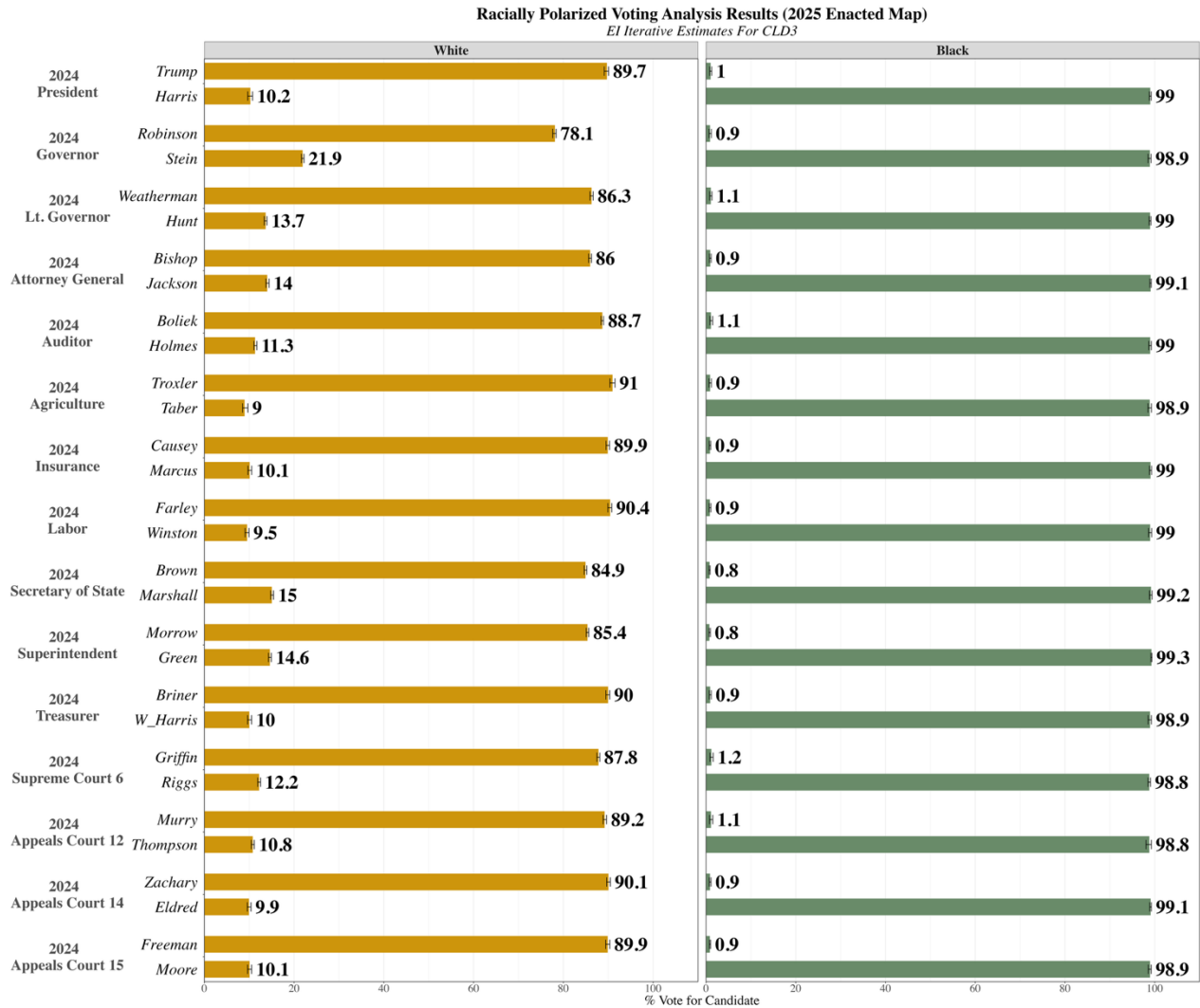


Figure A10: EI RxC 2024 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 3

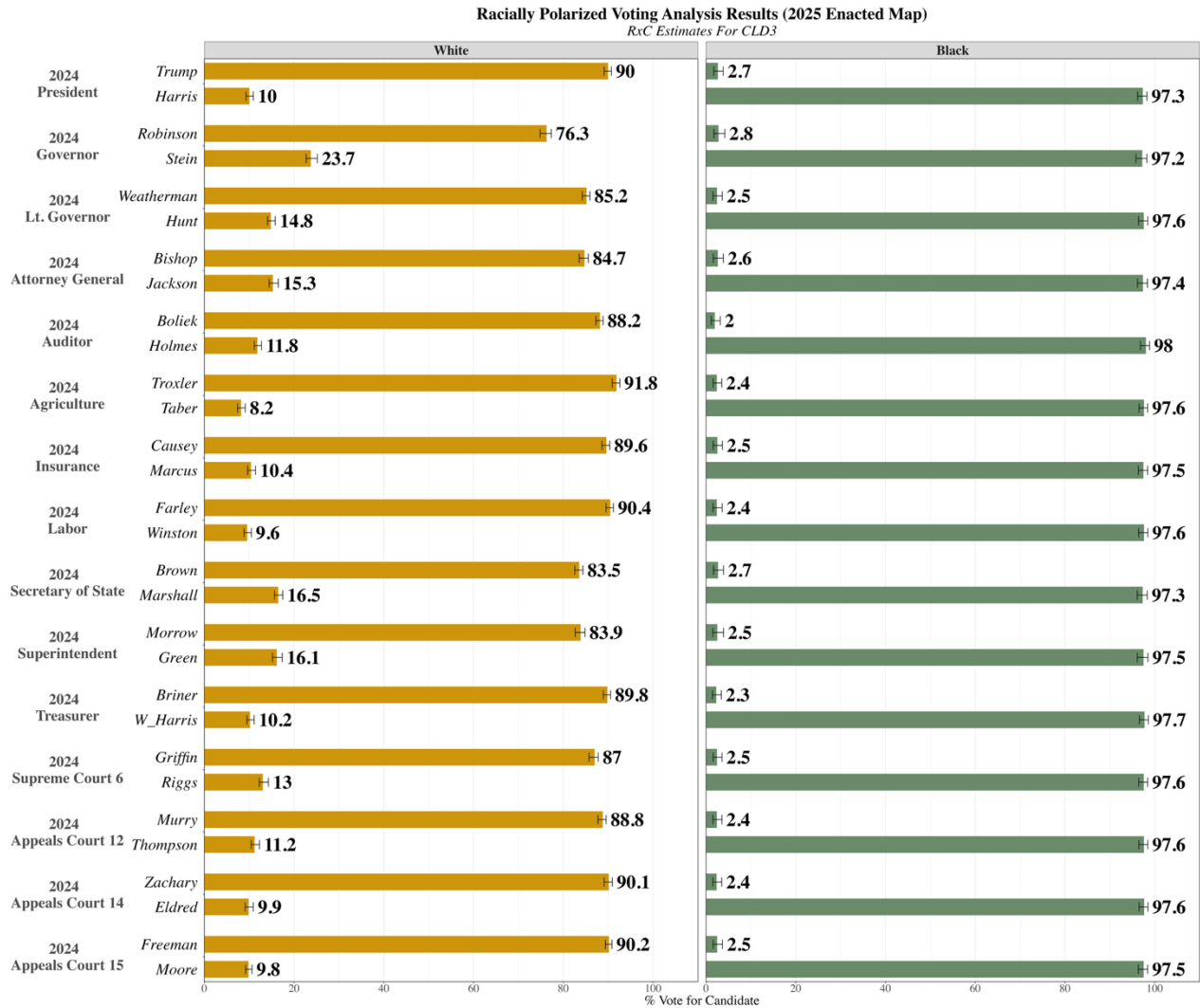


Figure A11: EI Iterative 2022 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 1

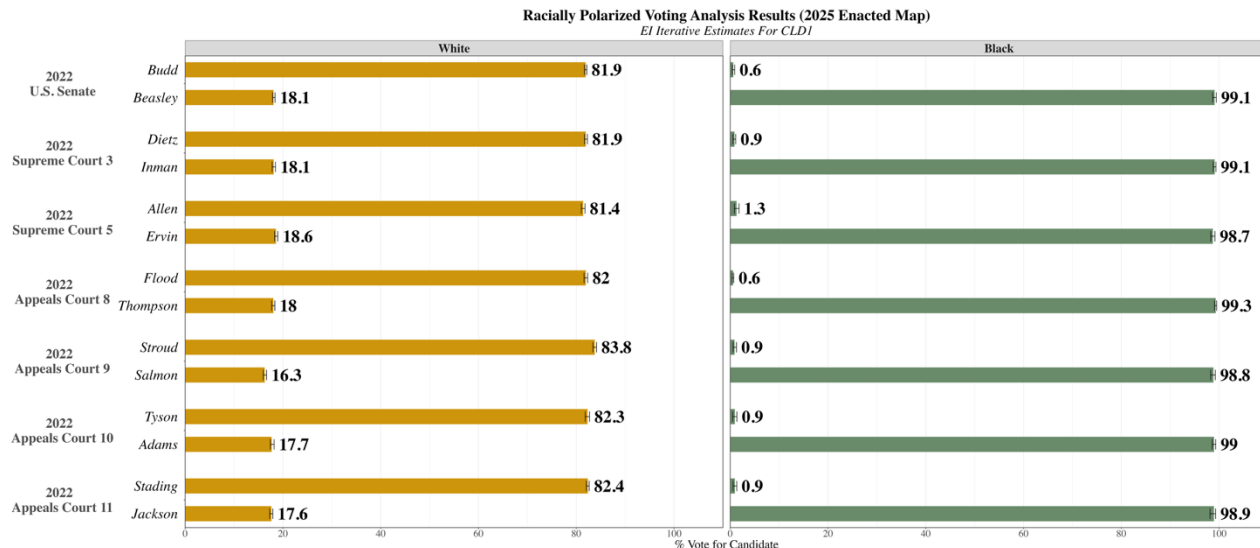


Figure A12: EI RxC 2022 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 1

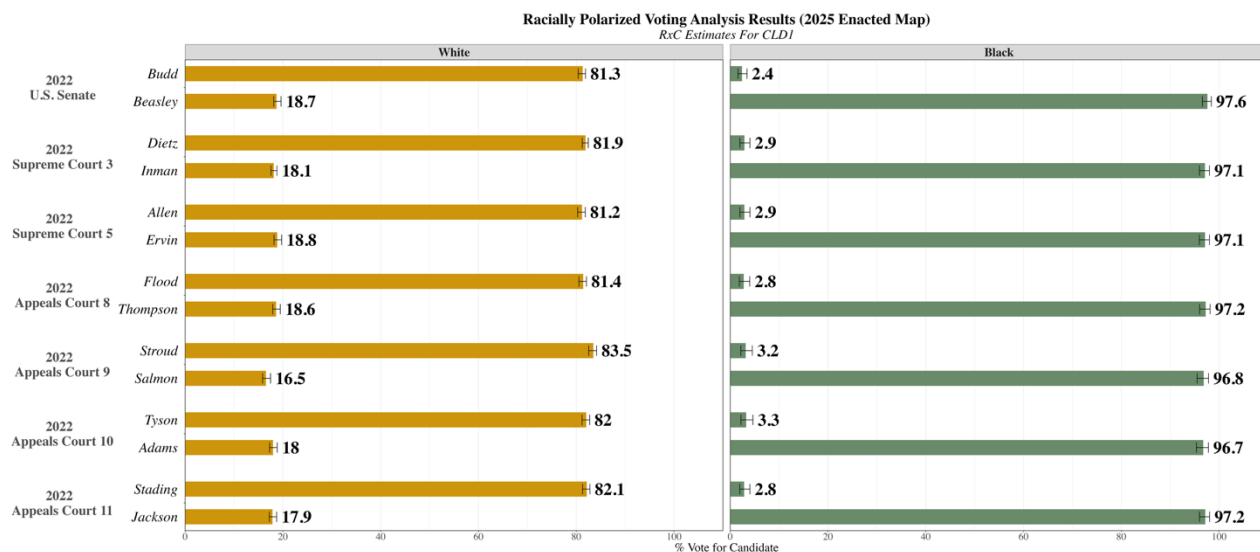


Figure A13: EI Iterative 2022 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 3

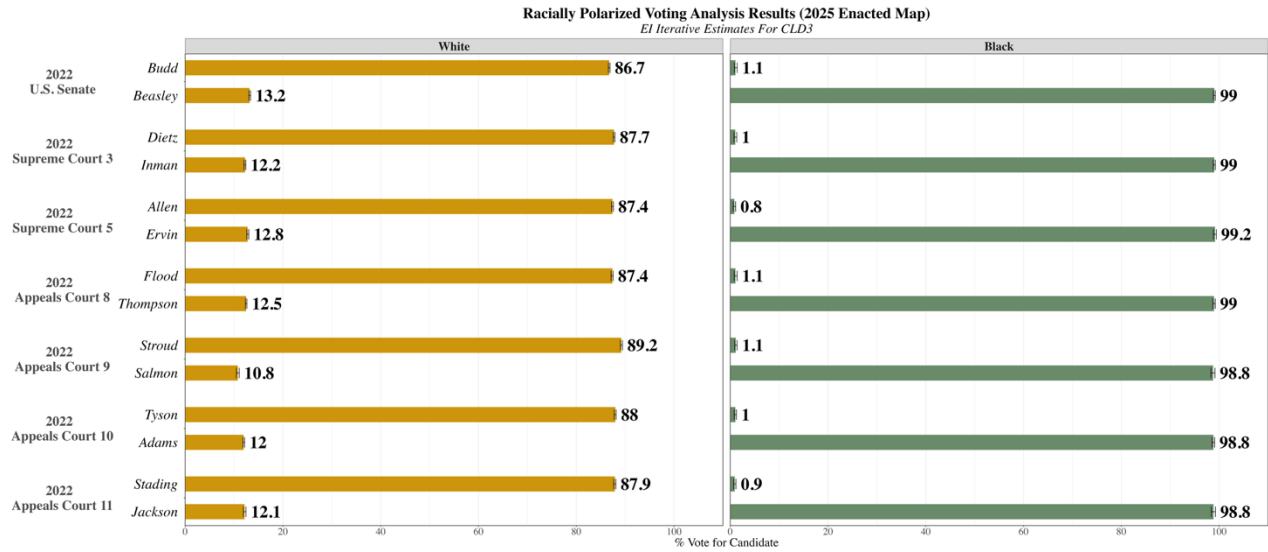
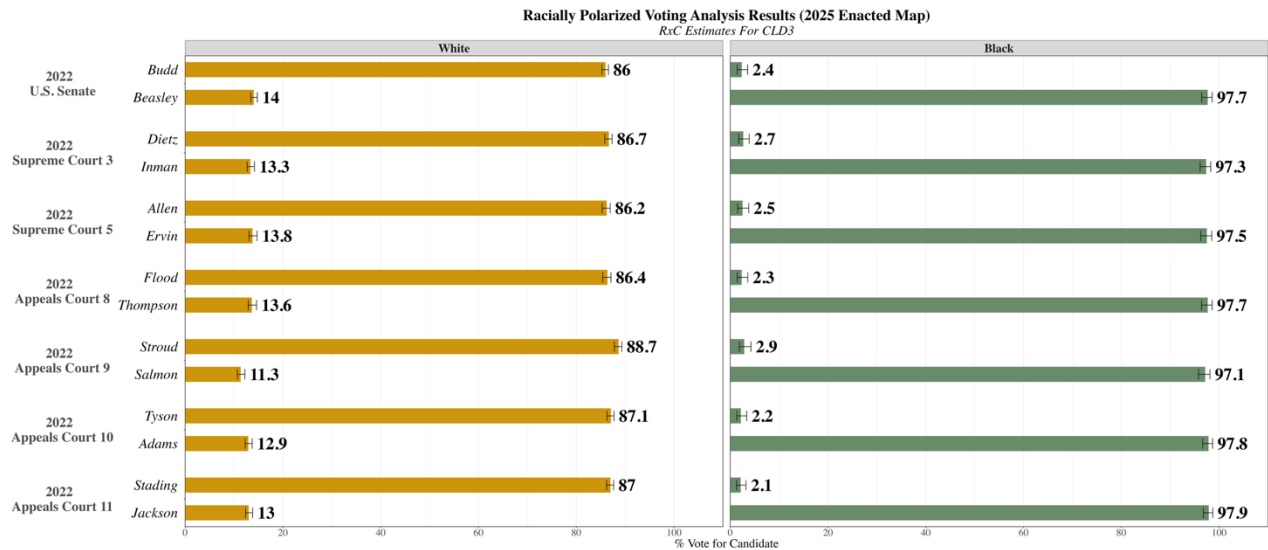


Figure A14: EI RxC 2022 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 3



APPENDIX B to Oskooii Supplemental Report

Kassra A.R. Oskooii

Contact Information

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Academic Appointments

University of Delaware

Political Science & International Relations

Associate Professor

2021-Present

Assistant Professor

2016-2021

Current Faculty Affiliations:

Data Science Institute (DSI)

2023-Present

Master of Science in Data Science (MSDS)

2023-Present

Center for Political Communication (CPC)

2016-Present

Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD)

2016-Present

Education

University of Washington

Ph.D., 2016

Department of Political Science

General Fields: American Politics & Political Methodology

Specialized Field: Minority and Race Politics

University of Washington

M.A., 2013

Department of Political Science

Center for Statistics & the Social Sciences (CSSS)

Political Methodology Field Certificate (2013)

University of Washington

B.A., 2008

Major: Political Science

Minors: Human Rights and Law, Societies, & Justice

Peer-Reviewed Journal Publications

“Bureaucratic Bias or Voter-Side Factors? Testing Competing Explanations for Racial Gaps in Vote-By-Mail Ballot Signature Rejections.” *Forthcoming. Political Research Quarterly.* w/ Herndon and Rios.

“[Neighboring Groups and Political Attacks.](#)” *Forthcoming. Political Research Quarterly.* w/ Besco, Garcia-Rios, Lagodny, Lajevardi, and Tolley.

“[Anti-Muslim Policy Preferences and Boundaries of American Identity Across Partisanship.](#)” 2024. *Journal of Public Policy*, 44(3): 573-591. w/ Lajevardi, N.

- “In the Shadow of September 11: The Roots and Ramifications of Anti-Muslim Attitudes in the United States.” 2024. **Advances in Political Psychology**, 45(S1): 87-118. w/ Lajevardi, N., Saleem, M., and Docherty, M.
- “Social Mobility Through Immigrant Resentment: Explaining Latinx Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies and Anti-Immigrant Candidates.” 2024. **Public Opinion Quarterly**, 88(1): 51-78. w/ Hickel, F., and Collingwood, L.
- “The Participatory Implications of Racialized Policy Feedback.” 2023. **Perspectives on Politics**, 21(3): 932-950. w/ Garcia-Rios, S., Lajevardi, N. and Walker, H.
- “Undermining Sanctuary? When Local and National Partisan Cues Diverge.” 2023. **Urban Affairs Review**, 59(1): 133-169. w/ Collingwood, L. & Martinez, G.
- “Fight Not Flight: The Effects of Explicit Racism on Minority Political Engagement.” 2022. **Electoral Studies**, 80: 102515. w/ Besco, R., Garcia-Rios, S., Lagodny, J., Lajevardi, N., Tolley, E.
- “Hate, Amplified? Social Media News Consumption and Anti-Muslim Policy Support.” 2022. **Journal of Public Policy**, 42: 656-683. w/ Lajevardi, N. and Walker, H. (FirstView)
- “Estimating Candidate Support in Voting Rights Act Cases: Comparing Iterative EI and EI-RxC Methods.” 2022. **Sociological Methods and Research**, 51(1): 271-304. w/ Barreto, M., Collingwood & Garcia-Rios, S.
- “Beyond Generalized Ethnocentrism: Islam-Specific Beliefs and Prejudice toward Muslim Americans.” 2021. **Politics, Groups, and Identities**, 9(3): 538-565. w/ Dana, K. & Barreto, M.
- “Opinion Shift and Stability: The Information Environment and Long-Lasting Opposition to Trump’s Muslim Ban.” 2021. **Political Behavior**, 43: 301–337. w/Lajevardi, N. & Collingwood, L.
Covered in: *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage)
- “The Role of Identity Prioritization: Why Some Latinx Support Restrictionist Immigration Policies and Candidates.” 2020. **Public Opinion Quarterly**, 84: 860–891. w/ Hickel, F., Alamillo, R. & Collingwood, L.
- “Perceived Discrimination and Political Behavior.” 2020. **British Journal of Political Science**, 50(3): 867-892.

- “The Paradox Between Integration and Perceived Discrimination Among American Muslims.” 2020. *Political Psychology*, 41(3): 587-606. w/ Lajevardi, N., Walker, H. & Westfall, A.
Winner of the 2019 American Political Science Association Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Section Best Paper Award.
- “Veiled Politics: Experiences with Discrimination among Muslim Americans.” 2019. *Politics and Religion*, 12(2): 629-677. w/ Dana, K., Lajevardi, N., & Walker, H.
- “Partisan Attitudes toward Sanctuary Cities: The Asymmetrical Effects of Political Knowledge.” 2018. *Politics and Policy*, 46 (6): 951-984. w/ Dreier, S. & Collingwood, L.
- “A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted against Trump’s Muslim Ban.” 2018. *Political Behavior*, 40: 1035-1072. w/ Collingwood, L. & Lajevardi, N.
Covered in: *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), Vox, ThinkProgress, NPR, Al Jazeera, Middle East Eye, Psychology Today, & Social Psych Online
- “Old-Fashioned Racism, Contemporary Islamophobia, and the Political Isolation of Muslim Americans in the Age of Trump.” 2018. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, 3(1): 112-152. w/ Lajevardi, N.
- “The Politics of Choice Reconsidered: Partisanship, Ideology, and Minority Politics in Washington’s Charter School Initiative.” 2018. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 18(1): 61-92. w/ Collingwood, L. & Jochim, A.
- “Muslims in Great Britain: The Impact of Mosque Attendance on Political Behaviour and Civic Engagement.” 2018. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(9): 1479-1505. w/ Dana, K.
- “eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI: RxC.” 2016. *R Journal*, 8(2): 92-101. w/ Collingwood, L., Barreto, M. & Garcia-Rios, S.
- “How Discrimination Impacts Sociopolitical Behavior: A Multidimensional Perspective.” 2016. *Political Psychology*, 37(5): 613-640.
- “Mosques as American Institutions: Mosque Attendance, Religiosity and Integration into the Political System among American Muslims.” 2011. *Religions*, 2(4): 504-524. w/ Dana, K. & Barreto, M.

Book Chapters/ Encyclopedic Entries	"Discrimination." Forthcoming. In Springer Political Science Encyclopedia edited by Audrey Gagnon, Stephen Sawyer, and Daniel Stockemer.	
	"Discrimination." 2023. In Edward Elgar Encyclopedia of Political Sociology edited by Maria Grasso and Marco Giugni. 33:131-133.	
	"Race and Racism in U.S. Campaigns." 2020. In Oxford Handbook on Electoral Persuasion edited by Liz Suhay, Bernie Grofman, and Alex Trechsel. 15:278–295. w/ Christopher Parker, Christopher Towler, and Loren Collingwood.	
Book Reviews	"Understanding Muslim Political Life in America: Contested Citizenship in the Twenty-First Century." Edited by Brian R. Calfano and Nazita Lajevardi. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2019. 248p. Perspectives on Politics .	
Public Writing	"Biden reverses Trump's 'Muslim Ban.' Americans support the decision." The Washington Post (Monkey Cage) (27 January, 2021). w/ Lajevardi, N. and Collingwood, L.	
	"Targeted: Veiled Women Experience Significantly More Discrimination in the U.S." Religion in Public (21 January, 2020). w/ Dana, K., Lajevardi, N., and Walker, H.	
	"Here's what the Democrats need to do to get the DREAM Act through Congress." LSE American Politics and Policy Blog (29 January, 2018). Also covered by Newsweek U.S. Edition. w/ Walker, H. and Garcia-Rios, S.	
	"Why Individual-Level Opinion Rapidly Shifted Against Trump's 'Muslim Ban' Executive Order." Religion in Public (17 January, 2018). w/ Collingwood, L. and Lajevardi, N.	
	"Allies in name only? Latino-only leadership on DACA may trigger implicit racial biases among White liberals." LSE American Politics and Policy Blog (28 September, 2017). w/ Garcia-Rios, S. and Walker, H.	
	"Protests against Trump's immigration executive order may have helped shift public opinion against it" LSE American Politics and Policy Blog (12 February, 2017). w/ Collingwood, L. and Lajevardi, N.	
Grants, Fellowships, & Awards	Nominee of UD's Excellence in Teaching Award	(2023)
	UD Provost Teaching Fellow	(2022-2025)
	APSA Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Paper Award w/ N. Lajevardi, H. Walker and A. Westfall	(2019)
	AAPOR Student-Faculty Diversity Pipeline Award	(2019)
	CTAL Instructional Improvement Grant: Engaging Diversity in Political Science w/ Kara Ellerby (\$11,000)	(2018)
	POSCIR Seed Research Grant (\$1,500)	(2018)

	DEL General University Research Grant (\$7,500)	(2017)
	UW Political Science Research Fellowship (est. \$13,000)	(2016)
	Dissertation Improvement Research Grant, UCLA (\$3000)	(2015)
	Dean Recognition for Exceptional Pedagogical Contribution, UW	(2014)
	Best Graduate Paper in PoliSci (w/Hannah Walker), UW	(2014)
	UW Center for Democracy & VRA Research Fellowship (\$5,000)	(2014)
	UW Center for Democracy & VRA Research Fellowship (\$5,000)	(2013)
	Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences Grant (\$1,000)	(2013)
	UW WISER Research Grant (\$2500)	(2011-14)
	UW WISER Survey Research Fellowship (\$20,000)	(2011-14)
	Grad. Opportunities & Minority Achievement Fellowship (\$4,000)	(2010-11)
	Donald R. Matthews Graduate Fellowship (\$40,000)	(2010-11)
	Jody Deering Nyguist Award for Excellence in Public Speaking	(2008)
Research Center/ Academic Affiliations	Data Science Institute (DSI), UD	(2023 -)
	Master of Science in Data Science (MSDS), UD	(2023 -)
	Center for Political Communication, UD	(2016 -)
	Center for the Study of Diversity, UD	(2016 -)
	Race, Justice, Policy Research Initiative, UD	(2017-20)
	UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights Research	(2013-14)
	Washington Institute for the Study of Race & Ethnicity (WISER)	(2010-16)
	Center for Social Science and Statistics (CSSS), UW	(2010-16)
	Washington Survey Research Center (WASRC)	(2010-15)
Teaching Experience	University of Delaware (2016 -)	
	POSC 150: Intro to American Politics (x13)	
	POSC 230: Intro to Politics and Social Justice (x2)	
	POSC 413: Minority Politics, Representation, and Voting Rights (x4)	
	POSC 867: Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (Graduate Seminar) (x3)	
	POSC 807: American Political Behavior (Graduate Seminar) (x3)	
	University of Washington (2011-2016)	
	POLS 202: Intro to American Politics (x2)	
	POLS 357: Minority Representation and the Voting Rights Act (x1)	
	POLS 205: Political Science as a Social Science (TA)	
	POLS 317: US Race and Ethnic Politics (TA)	
	POLS 353: US Congress (TA)	
	POLS 503: Advanced Research Design and Analysis (TA)	
	LAW E 558: Voting Rights Research and the Law (TA)	
Select External Invited Talks/Panels	“Pernicious Prejudice: Scholarly Approaches to Antisemitism and Islamophobia.” Harvard University . Panel Cosponsored by the Edmond & Lily Safra Center for Ethics, Center for Jewish Studies, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Center for American Political Studies, and FAS Civil Discourse Initiative.	

May 1, 2024.

“Diversity and the State of Democratic Citizenship.” Featured invited roundtable sponsored by the **Center for the Study of Democratic Citizenship**. April 23, 2021.

“Shocks to the System: Capturing Opinion Shift and Stability Toward Trump’s Muslim Ban.” Keynote Speaker at the Democracy and Diversity Triannual Conference at the **Center for the Study of Democratic Citizenship** in Montreal, Canada. April 24-25, 2020. [Cancelled Due to COVID-19]

“The New American Electorate.” Panelist. **Princeton University**. Event sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics. April 3, 2020. [Cancelled Due to COVID-19]

“Neighboring Identities: Psychological and Political Reactions to Generalized and Particularized Anti-Immigrant Appeals.” w/Sergio Garcia-Rios. **University of Toronto**. Talk Sponsored by the Department of Political Science. March 6, 2020.

“History, Institutions, and Theory Research Coordination Network on Racial and Ethnic Politics.” Panelist. **University of Pennsylvania**. Event sponsored by the American Political Science Association’s Special Projects Fund and the Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Immigration at Penn. February 28-29, 2020.

“Using Observational and Experimental Data to Examine the Sociopolitical Consequences of Perceived Discrimination.” **Rutgers University**. Talk sponsored by the Emerging Trends Lecture Series & the Center for the Experimental Study of Politics and Psychology. April 27, 2018.

“A Change of Heart? Using Panel Designs to Establish Causality with Real Events.” w/Loren Collingwood. **Princeton University**. Talk sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics. April 26, 2018.

“Using Observational and Experimental Data to Examine the Sociopolitical Consequences of Perceived Discrimination.” **University of California Los Angeles**. Talk sponsored by the Race, Ethnicity and Politics Workshop. March 5, 2018.

“Muslim-American Attitudes, Sociopolitical Behavior, and Identity.” Panelist/Section Presenter. **University of California Los Angeles**. Event sponsored by the Luskin School of Public Affairs & the National Science Foundation. December 15, 2017.

“Muslim-American Political Behavior.” Panelist/Section Presenter. **Menlo College**. Event sponsored by Menlo College & the National Science Foundation. December 16, 2016.

Select Internal or Public Invited Talks/Panels	<p>“American Presidency and Political Power.” Talk sponsored by the YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. June 21, 2024.</p> <p>“How Democratic is the U.S. Constitution, and to What Extent did the Founding Fathers Oppose Majority Rule?” Speaker. University Day Public Lecture. March 18, 2023.</p> <p>“Executive Power and the U.S. Democracy.” Talk sponsored by the YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 13, 2023.</p> <p>“Executive Power and the U.S. Democracy.” Talk sponsored by the YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 2022.</p> <p>“Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the 2020 Election.” Speaker. Panel sponsored by the University of Delaware POSCIR. December 14, 2020.</p> <p>“Building Community: Scholarship and Connection among Faculty of Color.” Speaker. Panel sponsored by the Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) at the University of Delaware. February 24, 2020.</p> <p>“Executive Power and the U.S. Democracy.” Talk sponsored by the 2019 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 2, 2019.</p> <p>“Opinion Shift and Stability: Long-Lasting Opposition toward Trump’s Muslim Ban.” Talk sponsored by the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice Colloquium Speaker Series at the University of Delaware. April 24, 2019.</p> <p>“Old-Fashioned Racism and the Roots of Contemporary Islamophobia.” Talk sponsored by the Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) Colloquium Speaker Series at the University of Delaware. December 6, 2018.</p> <p>“Understanding Executive Power in the United States.” Talk sponsored by the 2018 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 2, 2018.</p> <p>“The Inclusion and Exclusion of Minority Groups in the United States.” Talk sponsored by the 2017 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 11, 2017.</p> <p>“Inclusion and Exclusion: Perceptions of Discrimination in the Workplace.” Diversity Summit Presenter. Talk sponsored by the Office of Equity and Inclusion at the University of Delaware. June 20, 2017.</p>
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“What Happens Now Part II? A Forum to Discuss Bigotry & Closed Borders in the Trump Era.” Speaker. Panel sponsored by the Department of Women and Gender Studies, Sociology and Criminal Justice, Political Science and International Relations, & the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Delaware. February 13, 2017.

“Forum on the Travel Ban Executive Order.” Speaker. Panel sponsored by the University of Delaware Provost Office. February 7, 2017.

“What Happens Now Part I? Fear, Diversity, and Inclusion in Post-U.S. Election.” Speaker. Panel sponsored by Women and Gender Studies, Sociology and Criminal Justice, Political Science and International Relations, History, & the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Delaware. November 30, 2016.

“Race, Religion, and Gender.” Election Central Panelist. Event sponsored by the Center for Political Communication at the University of Delaware. November 8, 2016.

Select Papers at	2024
Conferences	“Motivated Misperceptions and Public Opinion about Abortion” Paper Presentation (Lead, Dr. Cassese) at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA)
	2021
	“Partisan Winners and Losers: Testing Alternative Frames of Congressional Election Results Among White and Latino Voters.” Online Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA).
	“Kissing Up and Kicking Down: How Immigrant Resentment Impacts Latinx Support for Donald Trump and Restrictive Immigration Policies.” Online Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA).
	“How do Political Attacks Affect Racial and Ethnic Self-Identities?” Online Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA).
	“Kissing Up and Kicking Down: How Immigrant Resentment Impacts Latinx Support for Donald Trump and Restrictive Immigration Policies.” Online Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA).
	2019

“The Significance of Politicized Group Identities: Re-examining the Relationship between Contact with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Participation.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

“Threat or Reassurance? Framing Midterm results among Latinos and Whites.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

“When American Identity Trumps Latinx Identity: Explaining Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

“Anti-Minority Politics and Political Participation: Evidence from Four Countries.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

2018

“Assessing the Link between Interactions with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Behavior.” Paper Presentation at the 2018 Symposium on the Politics of Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity (SPIRE) Meeting in Philadelphia, PA (University of Pennsylvania).

“Are Integrated Muslim Americans More Likely to Perceive Discrimination?” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Boston, MA.

“Opinion Shift and Stability: Enduring Individual-Level Opposition to Trump’s Muslim Ban.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Boston, MA.

“Assessing the Link between Interactions with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Behavior.” Paper Presentation at the 2018 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Study (CMPS) Meeting in Los Angeles, CA (UCLA).

2017

“A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted against Trump’s Muslim Ban.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in San Francisco, CA.

“Veiled Politics: Experiences with Discrimination among American Muslims.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in San Francisco, CA.

“The Racial Shield as Racism Exoneration: Explaining White Racist Support for Conservative Minority Candidates.” Paper Presentation at the Annual

Western Political Science Association Conference (WPSA) in Vancouver BC, Canada.

2016

“Assessing the Mechanism Linking Discrimination to Democratic Engagement.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Philadelphia, PA.

“Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing EI and EI-RxC.” Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA) in Chicago, Illinois.

Select Student
Supervision

Sadie Ellington, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Enes Aksu, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Enes Tuzgen, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Olga Gerasimenko, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Furkan Karakayan, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Richard Takyi Amoah, Dissertation Committee Member (ECON)
Sheila Afrakomah, Dissertation Committee Member (ECON)
Ahmet Ates, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Charles Mays, Long Paper and Dissertation Chair (POSC)
Ian Mumma, Long Paper Committee Member (POSC)
Clark Shanahan, Long Paper Committee Member (POSC)
Natalie Standridge, Long Paper Committee Member (POSC)
Fahmida Zaman, Research Assistant Supervisor (POSC)
Lola Bessis, Independent Research Supervisor (POSC)

Rachel Spruill, Undergraduate Honors Thesis Chair
Sativika Kadiyala, Undergraduate Summer Scholars Advisor
Jessica Sack, Undergraduate Honors Thesis Chair
Jordan Spencer, Undergraduate Faculty Mentor for the McNair Program
Lauren Turenchalk, Undergraduate Research Supervisor

Professional
Service

Editorial Board Member

Politics and Religion (6/2018 - 12/2021)

Select Discipline Service

American Political Science Association (APSA) REP Section Executive Council (2025-2027)

American Political Science Association (APSA) REP Section Conference Chair (2021-2022)

Western Political Science Association (WPSA) Task Force on Equity, Inclusion, and Access in the Discipline (2020-2021)

American Political Science Association (APSA) REP Best Paper Award Committee Member (2020)

Select University Service

College of Arts & Sciences Senator (2025)
Community Engagement Scholars Faculty Review Board Member (Winter/Spring 2022)
Summer Educational and Cultural Experience Program (SECEP)
Lecturer of Politics and Justice in the United States. (July 27 - August 20, 2019)

Select Department Service Roles

Director of Graduate Admissions & Funding
Director of Undergraduate Internships
Executive and Advisory Committee Member
Member of Hiring Committees
Faculty Review Committee Member
Graduate Placement Committee Chair
Academic Program Review Steering Committee Member
Academic Program Review Response Committee Member
Undergraduate Advising (Standard Annual Load)
Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Committee Member
New Minor Development Committee Member
Social Science Sponsored Research Committee Member

Manuscript Reviewer/Referee

American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Politics Research, British Journal of Political Science, Belgian Federal office for Science Policy, Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, Cambridge University Press, Electoral Studies, European Journal of Political Research, European Political Science Review, International Journal of Public Opinion, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Journal of Public Policy, Journal of Politics, Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics, Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, Migration Studies, Perspectives on Politics, Political Behavior, Politics, Groups, and Identities, Political Psychology, Political Research Quarterly, Politics and Religion, Political Studies Review, PS: Political Science & Politics, Public Opinion Quarterly, Social Science Quarterly, Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences

Conference Coordination

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC) at the University of Delaware. (2020)

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC) at the University of Washington. (2013)

Latinos and the Voting Rights Act. Center for Democracy and Voting Rights Research at the University of Washington Law School. (2013)

Islam in the Public Sphere Conference. Washington Institute for the Study of Race & Ethnicity (WISER). (2011)

Select Expert
Consulting
Experience

State of Maryland Attorney General's Office; 2021 MD Redistricting

Baltimore County Branch of the NAACP v. Baltimore County, Maryland, No. 1:21-cv-03232-LKG (D. Md. 2022)

Common Cause Florida v. Lee, 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF (N.D. Fla.)

Common Cause Florida v. Byrd, No. 4:22-cv-00109-AW-MAF (N.D. Fla. 2022) [Deposed]

Dickinson Bay Area NAACP Branch v. Galveston County, Texas, No. 3:22-cv-117-JVB (S.D. Tex. 2023) [Deposed & Testified]

Reyes v. Chilton, 4:21-cv-05075-MKD (E.D. Wash. 2021) [Deposed]

Roswell Independent School District (RISD); 2022 Redistricting

Caroline County Branch of the NAACP v. Town of Federalsburg, Civ. Action No. 23-SAG-00484 (D.Md. 2023)

Cobb County Board of Elections and Registration, No. 1:22-cv-02300-ELR (N.D. Ga. 2022)

Coca v. City of Dodge City, et al. Case no. 6:22-cv-01274 (D Kan. 2022) [Deposed & Testified]

Soto Palmer v. Hobbs, No. 3:22-cv-05035-RSL (W.D. Wash. 2021) [Testified]

Stone v. Allen, No. 2-21-cv-1531 (N.D. Ala. 2021) [Deposed & Testified]

Wicomico County Branch of the NAACP et al v. Wicomico County, MD,
Civ. Action No. 23-MJM-03325 (D. Md. 2023)

New York Communities for Change et al v. County of Nassau, NY, No.
602316/2024 (N.Y.S.) [Deposed & Testified]

NC NAACP et al v. Berger et al, No. 23-cv-1104 (M.D. NC. 2023) [De-
posed & Testified]

League of Women Voters of Utah, et al. v. Utah State Legislature, et al.,
No. 220901712/2022 (Utah 3rd Dist. Ct.) [Testified]

Previous Research Positions	Senior Researcher, Washington Poll 2010-2014 <i>Public Opinion Survey Design, Programming, and Analysis.</i>
	Researcher, Center for Democracy & Voting Rights Research 2013-2014 <i>Racially Polarized Voting (RPV) Analysis of jurisdictions in states such as: California, Florida, Texas, and Washington.</i>
	Investigator, Washington State Charter School Initiative 2013 <i>Precinct and school district level data collection and analysis of the I-1240 Vote for S360 Polling Firm and Melinda & Gates Foundation.</i>
Skills & Additional Information	Software: R, STATA, \LaTeX , ESRI, DRA Languages: Farsi (Persian)–Native Speaker R Packages: eiCompare (contributor), eiExpand (contributor)